DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 057 263 AA 000 756

AUTHOR	DiRenzo, Gordon J.
TITLE	Sociology in Italy Today.
INSTITUTION	Delaware Univ., Newark.; Institute of International Studies (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	71
NOTE	58p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	College Faculty; College Students; *Data Collection; Employment Opportunities; Graduate Study; *Interviews; Libraries; Organizational Change; Professional Occupations; *Research Methodology; *Sociology; *Surveys; Universities
IDENTIFIERS	*Italy

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this assessment is to update earlier surveys of Italian sociology, particularly in terms of developments within the past 10 to 15 years--and again, to offer primarily an American perspective on such an overview. The present assessment differs in that many of the data upon which it is based are derived from informal study conducted during a two-year period. This study involved on-the-spot visits to universities, research agencies, publishing houses, library inspections, and a number of personal interviews, throughout Italy, with sociologists, university professors, research people, students, and other personnel associated with Italian sociology. Formal research was also conducted. It was found that Italian sociology during the past 25 years has emerged into one of the strongest positions among the countries of Europe. Further progress, however, depends to a great extent upon reorganization of the Italian university and the creation of employment opportunities for sociologists throughout Italian society. Reportedly only a very small percentage, less than 10%, of graduates from Trento and the post-graduate programs are successful in finding employment commensurate with their professional training and interests. (Author/CK)

ED 057 263

SOCIOLOGY IN ITALY TODAY

GORDON J. DiRENZO

PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY

University of Delaware

and

University of Rome*

1971

AA 000 756

SOCIOLOGY IN ITALY TODAY

Assessments of the post-World War II development of sociology in Italy have been made periodically (Rapport, 1957; Rose, 1958; Treves, 1959, 1960; Evangelisti, 1961; Moss, 1964). The purpose of this present attempt is to update earlier surveys of Italian sociology, principally in terms of developments within the past ten to fifteen years--and, again, to offer primarily an American perspective on such an overview.

Unlike previous statements of this kind, the present assessment differs in that many of the data upon which it is based derive from an informal study conducted by this author during the past two years. This study involved on-the-spot visits to universities, research agencies, publishing houses, library inspections; and, of course, a number of personal interviews, throughout Italy, with sociologists, university professors, research people, students, and other personnel associated, in one way or another, with sociology in Italy today.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Any current discussion of sociology in Italy is apt to be distorted severely unless placed in its proper historical context. It is important to recall the crucial, and somewhat unique, episodes which marked the emergence, development, demise, and eventual re-birth of sociology in Italy.[1]

Italy is one of the few countries which has had a charter association with the field of sociology, and--as in almost all other disciplines--has made classical contributions to this new science. One thinks principally in this respect perhaps of the works of Pareto, Mosca, and Michels, Yet, many have been the efforts of Italian scholars who have played a significant

role in the historical development of sociology. Other major, although not classical, figures (e.g., Squillace, Niceforo, Sighele) in Italian sociology during the latter half of the nineteenth century are too little remembered outside their native land. Nonetheless, one needs only to take a cursory glance over the table of contents of the now-defunct Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, which commenced publication in 1897, for an indication of the intellectual company which the pioneering Italian sociologists kept, as well as for a testimony of the strong development of sociology in Italy at that time. In those pages one can find, with regularity, original publications of several of the principal, and now classical, figures in the history of sociology, such as Durkheim, Glumplowicz, and Pareto. All in all, Italian contributions to sociology are distinguished historically by their erratic and discontinuous character--the consequent of fate and unfortunate circumstances.

In Europe, during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, it was widely believed that sociology, particularly as practiced in the United States, was completely positivistic because of its emphasis on empiricism. Hence, sociology in Italy, much alive and progressively fertile at that time, became fallaciously identified in this view with the philosophy of positivism. Soon after the turn of the century, neo-Hegelian philosophy became the dominant intellectual force in Italian culture, and sociology--under the antagonisms and incessant attacks of the influential spokesmen of this philosophy--experienced a progressive impoverishment that culminated in a quick demise. Pre-eminent among these men of letters was Benedetto Croce (1866-1952), a proponent of historicism, who has been widely accused as the chief abortionist of the embryonic Italian sociology,

a death instrumented by means of his widely received, and influential, philosophy of Idealism: Man, as a sentient and creative being, was not subject to natural laws, and social science could never be anything more than history (see Rose, 1950). Croce had become in effect the intellectual dictator of Italy, and established for himself the personal goal of a renovation of Italian culture in anti-positivistic dimensions.

The effective suppression of sociology, however, was accomplished by a former student--and later political foe--of Croce, Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944), who had become one of the official philosophers of the Fascist regime. As Minister of Education in the early Mussolini governments, Gentile implemented Croce's philosophical dicta against sociology by means of legislation that controlled the academic life of Italy through the structure of the university system, and more specifically by means of an academic ostracism that stifled the establishment of courses and the creation of professorships in the field of sociology. Similarly, the teaching of sociology, along with psychology, was removed from the curricula of middle (scuole medie) and secondary schools (licei).[2]

Fascism, in keeping with its fundamental nationalism, isolated Italy from intellectual currents in the rest of the world, and especially from those in the United States where sociology was flourishing. Particularly anethema, of course, was that empirical brand of sociology emanating from the so-called Chicago school. This intellectual black-out was darkened all the more by the Vatican which opposed sociology for the same reasons, as well as for its own particular aversion: the profane (empirical and scientific methodology) invasion of the sacred (religious behavior). Hence sociology, for all intents and purposes, came to a virtual death which was tolled dramatically by the cessation of the publication of the Rivista Italiana di Sociologia in 1921.

These official set-backs, however, did not mean that Italy was totally without sociological activity during the Fascist period. To be sure, clandestinely and otherwise, some work in sociology was carried on, often under another rubric. And some scholarly activity, while occasionally labelled sociology, was a uniquely Italian brand that apparently caused little concern, as sociology, to the anti-positivists because of its non-empirical, somewhat more philosophical, and political character. Ferrarotti (1957) contends that those Italian sociologists who managed to survive intellectually, especially classical figures such as Pareto, Mosca, and Michels, did so because their sociological concerns, and presentations thereof, were compatible with the philosophy of Idealism, and hence as well with the aims of Fascism, for which they had appreciable propagandistic value (in areas such as demography, corporativism, charismatic leadership, and racism) in lending justification to this political and ideological movement.

One such aspect of sociology that was not suppressed during the reign of Fascism was demography.[3] This branch of the discipline, however, was not associated directly with sociology, but rather was associated (and so remains in most quarters today) with the disciplines of statistical and actuarial sciences. Much influence in the area of social science came from the demographer Corrado Gini, who served as head of the government's Statistical Institute. Gini, often remembered as a sociologist for his theory of social metabolism, did develop--under requirements for the degree in statistics as provided in the legislative enactments of 1936-38--a particularly neo-biological brand of sociology at the University of Rome, and which to a great extent has been perpetuated to this day by his students, principally his professorial successor, Vittorio Castellano, who within this continuity has played a major role in the current re-development of sociology

in Italy. Yet, some claim that Gini's influence during the inter-war years was essentially negative in that he suppressed other people's sociology (see Rose, 1950).

The end of World War II brought a new era of scholarship to Italy, and with it came a re-birth of sociology. Fascism was conquered, and with its defeat came the annihilation of much of the anti-empirical philosophy of Idealism. Here now, in a milieu of academic freedom and fresh scholarship, was a new attitude of enthusiastic interest in the scientific study of society, man, and his social behavior.

Post-War reconstruction and social change provided a particularly pressing and practical impetus to the re-development of sociology. New kinds of problems (industrialization, urban development, economic development, internal migration, and the perennial question of socio-economic imbalance between the two "Italies"--the North and the South) awaited new kinds of solutions. These problems, however, needed a breed of social scientists, competent with empirical training and relevant experience, which was grossly unavailable in Italy. Answers were sought in great part from American sociology and its practitioners.

A major role in the early re-development of Italian sociology was played by the Italo-American Cultural Exchange program which brought--and continues to do so, but unfortunately in somewhat reduced numbers--Fulbright-Hays scholars as lecturers and/or researchers, including some of the more distinguished names in American sociology, to various Italian universities. Significant assistance also was provided initially by several major Italian corporations--chief among them FIAT and Olivetti--which supported American sociologists, assisting and training Italian personnel in social research in the area of industrial sociology.

Additionally, a great number of American sociologists worked independently in Italy on sabbatical leaves and/or research grants from various American foundations.[4] But, while the bulk of the knowledge and training in the early periods of this re-development of sociology may have been "Made in U.S.A.," the interest and desire for it came principally from the Italians themselves. Many are those Italian scholars, in various disciplines, who deserve credit for nurturing this re-development of Italian sociology. Unfortunately, only a few, people such as Luigi Sturzo, who were in the vanguard of this effort are remembered for their labors and contributions. Yet, despite the enthusiastic interest, the pressing need, and the generously available assistance, ahead of the re-development of sociology lay a long and rocky road--a considerable distance of which has yet to be traveled.

THE ACADEMIC SITUATION

Sociology was striving once again for legitimacy as an independent and respected academic discipline, and this needed the sanction and recognition of establishment within the university system.

The University System

Academic warfare lingered within the universities between the would-be sociologists and the die-hard anti-empirical philosophers and historians. After all, a great number of the Marxists and other Socialists, toward whom the political pendulum had swung, were of Crocian and Gentilian persuasion, and they opposed the "scientific" study of society and social questions for many of the same philosophical and ideological, as well as politically expedient, reasons as their adversaries of the political right.

Moreover, despite the annihilation of Fascism, and with it many of the utopian dreams found in the philosophy of Idealism, what did remain as a pedagogical vestige, among a great number of Fascist remnants still to be found in the Italian socio-cultural system of the present day, is that academic system--in structure and largely in content as well--which had been established be Gentile.

Educational reform, as with most social reformation, in Italy, is woefully retarded, and many Fascist statutes of various kind are yet in force, notwithstanding everyday political promises to revise them with all deliberate haste. It is the archaic university system, essentially unchanged in many respects for the past one-hundred years, which--perhaps more than anything else--continued, and to a great extent continues yet today, to be the most formidable impediment to the advancement and extensive development of sociology, as well as of other, related and more traditional, fields, such as anthropology and psychology.[5] The structure of the state university system has not experienced a substantial aggiornamento, except limitedly during the past few years, to keep itself abreast of intellectual and scientific innovation--as well as, more broadly, major social developments that relate directly to higher education.[6] For example, with few exceptions--fortunately, sociology being one of them--no additional faculties for new disciplines and new specializations have been created for the past century.

Three years ago, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development completed a study of Italy, as part of its Reviews of National Science Policy, and its report--amounting to a grand indictment of the Italian government's treatment of research and education--concludes that the Italian universities have only one-third of the resources they need to

do their job properly. Italy is most delinquent among the industrialized nations of Europe when it comes to supporting research and education. The per capita expenditure for 1967 was equivalent to $10.7 as compared to 1965 figures of $37.9 for France and $39.8 for England. (The United States figure was $110.5 in 1964, and it has risen considerably since then.)[7]

One of the major structural problems in the Italian university system--and, yet, strangely, in some ways of substantial benefit to sociology--has been the archaic status of the "baronial professorship," whereby each tenured professor (ordinario) is sovereign of his academic domain, a territory which he rules not only aristocratically but autocratically as well.[8] These state-conferred, lifetime professorships or chairs (cattedre), of which there is but one for each recognized field in any given facolta' (faculty), which in the Italian university system is a division approximating a cross between a department and a college, are most difficult to come by; and, frequently it is alleged that not always are they awarded, upon competitive examination which presupposes other qualifications, to the most qualified candidate in the area or field in question.[9]

The first professorship or cattedra of sociology was established shortly after World War II and granted to Camillo Pellizzi, who up to that time had held the chair of Fascist Doctrine, at the University of Florence. More of a change in title than anything else, a fortuitous one dictated for obvious reasons by the social pressures of the period, sociology came into the university system through the backgate, so to speak. Nonetheless, the existence of a university chair in sociology, whatever the motivation or circumstances, was of course a milestone for the discipline, and its official establishment within the university system, in such a traditionally change-resistant, educational environment, conferred not only academic

legitimacy, but scholarly dignity as well, upon the field of sociology--at long last.

Pellizzi thereby became the first ordinario in sociology. Although untrained in the field, and having had little--if any--share in its earlier nurture, Pellizzi assumed a benevolent posture, functioned principally as a literary critic, and attempted to stimulate academic interest and work in sociology. Otherwise, in its academic dimensions, sociology developed in Italy through the paternal interests and the "baronial" largess of ordinari in such foster facolta' as philosophy, law, economics, statistics, and a few other fields.

Beyond Pellizzi, the official university situation for sociology changed very little and very slowly for the next fifteen years. All other academic sociologists were designated as professori incaricati (unchaired untenured, term appointees), of which there were only nineteen in all of Italy at the beginning of the decade in 1961. Only six of these incaricati possessed the libera docenza, a state certification of teaching competency--based upon training, publications, and successful examinations--in the general or specific areas of a particular discipline. The other thirteen incaricati were liberi docenti[10] (literally, free teachers) in the fields of law (5), history (4), statistics and demography (3), and psychology (1). (See Evangelisti, 1961). With only one exception the Italian "sociologists" of this period were scholars without sociological mentors and formal training in the discipline; they were professionally self-taught sociologists that emerged from the ranks of philosophers, historians, jurists, and statisticians among others. Even today the majority of Italian sociologists are people who have similar academic backgrounds, and--although to a lesser extent--continue to be trained formally, as well as

to profess academically, in a number of other disciplines.

One must not get the impression, however, that sociological scholarship was sterile during the early post-War period. Much to the contrary, it was rather prolific--the extent and character of which can be inspected in the first bibliographies compiled by Barbano and Viterbi (1954, 1959). Sociology in Italy, as we shall see, was not dependent completely upon the university system and academic life. Significant advances in the discipline were being made also in non-university settings, such as in industry, private research institutes, and publishing houses.

In 1961, however, the academic status of sociology began to change, quickly and dramatically. The first new cattedra--the second professorship in all of Italy--was established at the Magistero' (School of Education) at the University of Rome, and this chair was awarded to Franco Ferrarotti,[11] an American-trained (University of Chicago) scholar. Rapidly, thereafter, additional chairs were created in the other universities, and at the present time there are 9 ordinari and 44 other liberi docenti[12] of sociology in the Italian university system.

With this increase in personnel has come a corresponding expansion in the amount of university instruction in sociology. Up to 1953, university instruction in sociology was governed by the educational laws of 1936-38, and as such was prescribed, as materia fondamentale (required course) only for the diploma (non-degree program) in the Faculty of Statistics, Demography, and Actuarial Sciences, and as materia complementare (elective course) for the degree (laurea)[13] in the Faculty of Political Science. With the revision of these laws in 1953, instruction in sociology became materia fondamentale for the laurea programs in statistics and demography, as well as that in statistical and actuarial sciences, and

was so foreseen for the laurea in political science. As materia complementare, sociological instruction was prescribed for ten different laurea programs in seven different faculties: Letters and Philosophy, Law, Political Science, Economics, Education, Agriculture, and Architecture. By 1965, at the halfway mark in the blossoming decade of the '60s, the number of these individual facolta' in which provision was made for sociological instruction had increased from 23 in 1960 to 60; and by 1967, this number expanded to 75.

The existence of legislation prescribing or permitting sociological instruction in specific academic programs does not mean that courses in fact are offered in all, or any, such programs throughout the Italian university system.[14] Several courses, either prescribed as materia fondamentale or permitted as materia complementare, are not offered for the lack of instructional personnel. For example, in 1965-66, at the halfway point in this decade of development, of the 73 courses provided for in the educational statutes, only 44 (about 60%) were actually offered. The need for instructors far exceeds the supply--at least this is true of the officially available pool of ordinari and liberi docenti. In 1969, for example, there were provisions for 85 courses in sociology but only 53 certified instructors (liberi docenti) throughout the Italian university system. Given this situation, and financial compensation being less then desirable, much moonlighting in fact occurs, with ordinari and liberi docenti holding multiple appointments, and offering courses in different faculty of the same university, and more likely in two, sometimes even three, different universities--often as widely separated geographically as Florence and Salerno, Rome and Catania, or Milano and Cagliari.

But while the number of available course offerings continues to grow, and with it--perhaps at an even greater rate proportionately--the available instructional personnel, the situation today still leaves much to be desired. More than one-third of the 85 sociology courses offered in the 1969-70 academic year were taught by personnel (ordinari or docenti) from disciplines quite removed from present-day sociology, such as philosophy, penal law, history, and statistics.[15] Moreover, sad to say, sociology was not taught, in the 1969-70 academic year, in six (nearly one-fourth) of the state universities (Macerata, Camerino, Ferrara, Modena, Pisa, and Sassari), and four of the seven private universities (Chieti, Aquila, Lecce, and Luigi Bocconi).

One can see readily, nonetheless, that sociology, at least in terms of the number of course offerings available in the universities, has made substantial progress during the past fifteen years. The diversity of facolta', and individual degree programs, in which sociology has made inroads is itself clearly suggestive of the academic recognition and development of this "new" discipline. Its position, however, remains largely a marginal one since courses in sociology, in nearly the majority of facolta', are only elective ones (materia complementare) within programs of study that are rigidly predetermined, and the instruction offered to students is by and large limited to one general course.

The majority of present offerings (about two-thirds) are courses in general sociology, or simply "sociology" with much variety in content, but consisting in the main of a systematic history of sociology which in some cases involve treatments of basic concepts and fundamental principles. The different academic backgrounds of the several instructors account for the extensive variation in the content of these courses. The bulk of them,

moreover, are nearly exclusively cattedratico (dogmatic and pedantic) treatments in terms of the particular interests of the individual instructor and the orientations of the discipline of his respective academic preparation. Additional offerings are becoming increasingly available in some specialized fields, principally rural, economic, industrial, and political sociology, methodology, and an occasionally esoteric area.

One significant development in university reorganization, with legislation enacted in 1968, which may be of considerable benefit to sociology, is the transformation of the Faculties of Political Science into Faculties of "Political and Social Sciences" which in this new structure will offer five different curricula, one of which is a specialization in sociology, in the second biennium--after completion of the propaedeutic biennium of the first two years--of university enrollment.

The singular advancement of sociological instruction in Italy occurred in 1962 with the establishment of the Institute of Social Sciences[16] in Trento, which in 1966 was recognized by the Ministry of Public Instruction as the Istituto Superiore di Scienze Sociali (Higher Institute of Social Sciences), thus conferring upon this institution university status which permits it to confer an accredited laurea. In effect, this institution, which remains non-state supported, became the first facolta' of sociology, and offers the only degree-granting program available anywhere in Italy in which one can receive a systematic and concentrated instruction or training in the field of sociology.

The Trento school has no model, as such, except that of the Italian university. Hence it requires, by law, a number of courses of little relevance to sociology, or to social science more broadly. For example, courses in the fields of law and jurisprudence are pre-requisites in the

first biennium of the program. Nonetheless, the program is fundamentally sociological, with three courses in sociology, plus courses in cultural anthropology, social psychology, and statistics required out of sixteen in the first biennum. Three additional courses in sociology are required in the second biennium which offers a number of options that may be taken in any of several other fields, such as psychology, economics, law, and history. Many of the course offerings, however, are quite incongruent to a sociological perspective: e.g., banking economics, constitutional law, history of economic doctrines, agrarian economics, Church history, history of labor unions, history of education, modern political history, modern economic history, psychodynamics, and administrative law. Trento, nonetheless, has what is perhaps the strongest and most diversified program of sociology, on and off paper, in all of Italy. Its program is the only one in Italy which would compare in scope and depth to that of a modest department in the United States, with some 30 courses offered in the various sub-fields of the discipline. The Trento school possesses a good physical plant, is modestly equipped, and has a library which contains more than 12,000 volumes in the social and behavioral sciences--not the largest in Italy, but a substantial figure considering its short existence--and subscribes to more than 600 journals in the social sciences, principally American and English ones. There are about 3500 students enrolled, about 500 to 600 of whom regularly attend classes. Approximately 100 students graduate annually. The relatively high enrollment at this institution alone attests to the extensive interest in sociology and its academic establishment in Italy.

While Trento, given its fundamentally sociological program, would seem to be <u>the</u> place to be, it does not necessarily attract the major figures among Italian sociologists--although to be sure several of them do maintain

some direct, but brief, contact with its operation at one time or another. Much of this disappointment is due undoubtedly to the remote location of Trento close to the eastern Italian Alpine range. Moreover, as with all Italian universities, formal teaching, unfortunately, is at a minimum in Trento--perhaps even less so than elsewhere because of its geographic isolation from the principal university-towns from which its faculty is drawn. Only 6 out of 43 members of its faculty in the 1968-69 academic year either lived or maintained a residence in Trento or its vicinity. The remainder commuted from all parts of Italy, and even beyond its borders in a few cases, usually only as frequently as necessary to meet the minimum number of classes required by law.

Trento would appear to have the strongest potential to develop into the sociological center of Italy. Its future, however, is highly problematical. The geographical isolation of the School, and its location on the cultural frontiers of Italy as well, are major questions in its future development. Notwithstanding the socio-cultural uniquities, Trento, and its surrounding area, will soon be exhausted as an effective fieldwork laboratory for sociological training and/or social research, and this is one of the major concerns presently confronting its faculty and administrators. Moreover, not the least of its problems, the School has become a political issue for the conservative community in which it is located: many of the local residents have become much antagonized by the presence and political activity of the students. It was here in February 1968 that the Italian Student Movement was organized, and its formation precipitated student protests and riots, some of which--during the Lenten season--spilled over into the nearby cathedral during religious services. This student unrest, and its concomitant political protests, which witnessed

three directors of the Institute in the first five years of its official operation, have led to much anti-student and anti-Institute sentiment in the otherwise placid community of Trento and in its quiet, rural region. The next few years will be crucial ones for determining the fate not only of the Trento school, but also for the future academic establishment of sociology in the Italian university system.

Of the private universities which do not have state recognition, particular mention should be made of the Universita' Pontificale Gregoriana (Pontifical Gregorian University) which went co-ed a few years ago, and now enrolls about 2500 students, the majority of whom are lay people. It has a modest-size, but very active, social science department that was reorganized about ten years ago and presently includes four sociologists and one anthropologist. It offers a concentration, both in courses and research activity, in the sociology of religion. About 20 students are registered in this program, but enrollments reportedly are kept low because of limited financial support, and the lack of state recognition for its academic programs and degree.[17] The Greg has excellent facilities, including its own computer installation, and has done extensive research work in the sociology of religion--contributions not always well received in certain quarters of the Vatican.

Post-Graduate and Professional Training Programs

Beyond the provisions for sociological instruction as discussed above, there have emerged in recent years a few "graduate" programs for the training of sociologists and social researchers. Strictly speaking, graduate education does not officially exist in Italian universities, since there is but one university degree, the laurea, which--depending

upon the particular academic program--typically requires four to five years for completion. Usually, the laurea, which confers the title of dottore is regarded as equivalent to an American master's degree. In recent years, however, educational reforms have included preliminary provisions for the institution of a research graduate degree (il dottorato) which would be intended to serve functions equivalent to those of the American and English doctorates. For the present, then, graduate training in Italy, at least in the field of sociology, is simply post-graduate, i.e. "post-laurea" education. The level of instruction in such programs, while not totally elementary, is nonetheless basic and fundamental in many respects, usually presupposing no previous academic work or background in sociology. Some of these programs grant a certificate or diploma upon completion of prescribed curricula, but these awards carry no official recognition or accreditation. The following such programs for professional training are presently in operation:

1) Libera Universita' Internazionale degli Studi Sociale "Pro Deo" (Pro Deo Free International University of Social Studies), a lay-administered institution in Rome, supported financially by a private, international association of the same name, established a sociology program in 1962, which four years later became recognized as part of its Faculty of Political Sciences. This institution now conducts a two-year program recognized by the Ministry of Public Instruction as a scuola di perfezionamento (graduate school) for laurea-holders. This program, with a faculty numbering about 15 in the various social sciences, graduates about 20 to 30 students annually, and is under the current direction of Professor Franco Crespi. The curriculum here is quite empirically oriented, although very interdisciplinary and broadly based in the other social and

behavioral sciences, with required courses in social psychology and cultural anthropology. Emphasis in this program is on urban sociology, and much research activity is concentrated on "social change and social development," especially that of Southern Italy. Pro Deo--with excellent, and very modern, physical facilities, including its own computer installation--has perhaps the most impressive operation in the category of "graduate" programs. The Pro Deo program also publishes one of the major sociological journals in Italy, Rivista di Sociologia.

2) Scuola di Perfezionamento in Sociologia e Ricerca Sociale (Graduate School of Sociology and Social Research), established in 1966-67, at the University of Rome, is an outgrowth of the Istituto di Sociologia in the Faculty of Statistical, Demographic, and Actuarial Sciences, under the direction of Professor Vittorio Castellano, immediately successive ordinario of the chair of statistics held by the Italian demographer, Corrado Gini.

This program, evolving from, and perpetuating as it does, the sociological tradition of Gini, has somewhat of a neo-organismic orientation as far as its fundamental sociological content is concerned, and its emphasis is placed on the statistical and demographic dimensions of the discipline. These perspectives are readily reflected in the fact that graduates of the degree programs in the Faculties of Statistics and Demography are admitted automatically to this program, while those from other faculties must be approved for admission. The staff, however, consists of a number of sociologists, among whom are some American-trained people, with divergent orientations. Consequently, this two-year program offers a diversified curriculum through its elective courses which include offerings in social psychology and anthropology. Physical facilities are very modest, but the program

has access to adequate library and computer resources through the parent faculty.

3) Istituto Superiore di Sociologia (Higher Institute of Sociology), established in 1968, at the University of Milan, on the initiative of a number of public and private agencies, principally COSPOS,[19] the Comitato di Scienze Politiche e Sociali (Committee on Political and Social Sciences). This program, while less extensively developed than the one at Rome, is seen as another forerunner of more completely developed graduate programs for the research doctorate in sociology. Emphasis in this program is placed on sociological methodology and fieldwork experiences. Presently, admission to this two-year program is limited to those obtaining a scholarship from either the National Research Council, or another public agency, or to those who are successful on special entrance examinations. The program is presently under the direction of Professor Angelo Pagani.

4) Istituto Don Luigi Sturzo (Luigi Sturzo Institute) was established in Rome in 1951 for the purpose of continuing the work and tradition of Luigi Sturzo, a Catholic priest who was one of the founders of the former Italian Popularist Party, forerunner of present-day Christian Democracy. Sturzo, holding a presidential appointment as senator for life at the time of his death in 1959, was much concerned with a number of philosophical and political problems, some of which--somewhat in the Italian conception--became labeled as sociology (e.g., his The True Life: Sociology of the Supernatural). Accordingly, sociology at the Sturzo Institute retains a distinctive character: the orientation is heavily historical and philosophical, and substantive concerns deal primarily with the specific study of moral disciplines that have a particular relationship to sociology.

There appears to be an increasing overture to a broadening interdisciplinary and empirical orientation, which is reflected in a constantly expanding curriculum.

The Institute offers a two-year program in which enrollment is limited to about 20 to 25 students, reportedly in order to provide personal and direct contact between student and professor.[18] Admission is by examination, and about three-fourths of the students are on internal scholarships. The Institute, subsided by the Sturzo Foundation, has an annual budget equivalent to about $100,000. It has excellent physical facilities, and perhaps the most extensive library--although too little known and too little used--of sociological literature, in all languages in Italy.

In addition to its academic program, the Institute sponsors nearly annual symposia, with published proceedings, on various social and sociological topics and problems, to which it invites prominent figures of international reputation in the respective areas. Additionally, the Institute publishes one of the better known journals in the discipline, Sociologia, which commenced a new series in 1967.

5) Istituto Superiore di Sociologia a Castellamare di Stabia (Higher Institute of Sociology), located in the suburban and resort area of Naples, was supposed to begin operations in 1968-69 with a program modeled primarily after that at Trento, including a school of social work as well. As far as can be determined, little progress has been made on the implementation of this program. In 1969, however, under the auspices of COSPOS, a training center on the problems of social development was established in Naples, but this operation remains in the process of organization.

6) Centro di Specializzazione Economico-Agraria per il Mezzogiorno (Economic-Agricultural Specialization and Research Center for Southern Italy),

located in Portici (Naples), is primarily a research operation, which includes a sociological section for an on-the-job training program in rural sociology. Two-year scholarships are available.

Professional formation in sociology is becoming less and less a matter of self-education in Italy. Yet, beyond Trento, and the few post-laurea programs described above, the formal, professional training of Italian sociologists is a matter of foreign education. More and more young people aspiring to careers in the field are going abroad for graduate and advanced training, principally to the United States, but in fair numbers as well to England, France, and West Germany.

Schools of Social Work

Sociology has established a strong foot-hold in schools of social work, of which there are about 40 throughout Italy. All of these schools are private, with the exception of four which are associated with individual universities--although two in this category, such as that at the University of Rome, (CEPAS), exist only on paper at the present time.

About 28 of these private schools are accredited, and assisted financially, by the Ministry of Public Instruction. This recognition requires, among a number of other stipulations, a curriculum with mandatory courses in the following areas: sociology, social psychology, methods of social research, and cultural anthropology.

Schools of social work are not considered to be university-level institutions, although there are movements in progress to incorporate them into the university system. The teaching of sociology in these schools, however, is highly varied in content and scope, as well as quality, and in many of them--excluding those associated with universities--the

instruction which is offered is usually at the secondary-school level. Those schools located in, or near, university centers fare better, since their instructors usually are drawn from the available *professori* and *assistenti* who eagerly seek such moonlighting opportunities. Through the dissemination of sociological knowledge, and its practical applications, schools of social work have played a major role in the re-development of sociology in Italy.

Pre-University Instruction

As far as can be determined, sociology courses have not yet been re-instituted in the *liceo* (secondary school). Some attempts have been initiated, particularly by *COSPOS*, to get sociology into the curriculum of the *scuola media* (middle school)--a move apparently well received by the Ministry of Public Instruction in concept--but little progress has been effected in this respect, allegedly due to the lack of time in the curriculum, and the lack of teaching tools, such as texts appropriate for this level, and particularly teachers who are properly and adequately trained in the discipline.

RESEARCH

Italian sociology, as its bibliography will show, has been a highly productive enterprise during the past twenty-five years. The difficulties of doing social research in Italy, however, are many--though not all of a type rarely found in other countries, including the United States. First of all, there is the inevitable scarcity of funds, which in great part accounts for the lack of physical facilities, equipment, and research personnel.

With government support of education in Italy being so penurious, research fares the worst. The previously mentioned report[20] of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (Reviews of National Science Policy: Italy, (Washington: OECD Publications Center, 1969.) reveals that Italy also ranks low among the industrialized nations of Europe in the proportion of the gross national product devoted to research and development: 0.6% as compared to 2.3 for England and 2.0 for France. And, in the category of qualified researchers and technicians per thousand of population, the figure for Italy was 6, as compared to 29.4 for Britain, 21.6 for Sweden, and 18 for West Germany. (The comparable figure for the United States was 35.8.) Unfortunately, in the three years since this report was completed, there has been little, if indeed any, improvement in this situation.

National, or federal, research is centralized in the Centro Nazionale delle Ricerche (National Research Center), which is organized into 3 comitati (committees or divisions) to cover all of the scientific disciplines. The CNR controls all federal monies for university research. Even funds granted by foreign, private foundations often are given directly to the CNR as a central re-distribution agent. The CNR thus controls nearly all of the public funds available for scientific research in Italy. Research efforts, as in most other countries, are supported principally in the physical and natural sciences. In recent years, the annual amount of funds allotted for research activity in the area of "economics and sociology" has amounted to an equivalent of about $1 million; and the CNR itself supports no laboratories, or other kind of similar operations, in sociology--as it does in psychology, for example, with the Istituto Nazionale di Psicologia (National Institute of Psychology), one of its branches.

The CNR, however, appears to be becoming more open to social research; but, there are a number of bureaucratic problems yet to be resolved adequately. The fundamental one seems to be the lack of a systematic, and properly coordinated, program for research in particular areas or on specific problems. Consequently, funding has been by and large a haphazard enterprise, except that the availability of research funds has been restricted to a very small number of scientists. Individual grants usually are given to ordinari and not to other scholars of lesser status who may be equally, perhaps even more, competent in terms of specific training and research experience. So there has been much of a vicious circle in the distribution of monies: to qualify for grants, one needs to have demonstrated competence by means of such things as publications and academic appointments, programs, and facilities; yet without grants, these very things are all the more difficult to achieve. Another problem with the CNR is that its commission which decides on the disbursement of funds for sociological and other social research is not comprised of sociologists or other people considered to have the expertise to evaluate the merits of proposed projects--let alone to understand the nature and to appreciate the value of sociological research.

Other handicaps to research which might be more particular to the Italian situation are those which appear to be part of the cultural attitudes toward scholarship. Scientific research in Italy, and not only in sociology and the other social sciences, is very much a personal or individual undertaking. Joint enterprises, and/or team-type activity, have been, until recent years, quite rare in Italian scholarship. Much of this situation, of course, stems from the traditionally Italian and

European orientation toward scholarly activity, in which intellectual and cultural contexts, the emphasis has been on "theoretical" and "philosophical" rather than empirical perspectives. Research involving fieldwork is particularly disdained; however, empirical orientations are appearing more and more as academic programs are strengthened with curricula providing training and experience in research methodology. Another principal shortcoming, while more true of academic settings, and perhaps a consequence of present university structure, is the lack of inter-disciplinary orientations, and hence similar activity in sociological research.

The university system itself places little "publish or perish" pressure on Italian professors--especially once they have been granted the life-time security of the cattedra. To a great extent, research and publishing activities are directed toward this goal; and, given the Italian and European traditions of pedantic scholarship, theoretical dissertations and philosophical treatises have been received much more favorably in this respect than descriptive and analytical reports of findings deriving from empirical research. Aside from the scarcity of funds, these attitudes account for the lack of grand-scale, continuous, and on-going research projects of major proportions. Some activity of this kind, however, is approximated somewhat in private agencies devoted to social research.

Foundations

Philanthropic foundations are extremely limited in Italy, particularly ones which have been interested in social research and the development of the social sciences.[21] Two Italian organizations, however, are presently in the forefront of support, in various ways, for undertakings in the social sciences. These are The Adriano Olivetti Foundation and The

Agnelli Foundation. Other private foundations which have been of particular help in the re-development and expansion of sociology in Italy are the following:

1) Comunita', an organization headquartered in Turin, was established soon after World War II, under the patronage of Adriano Olivetti, who was one of the first Italian industrialists to initiate and to sponsor programs of social reform, especially those in the interests of the laboring class. This organization has sponsored research activity principally in the area of industrial sociology.

2) Comitato di Scienze Politiche e Sociali (COSPOS), headquartered in Rome, was created in 1966 on the joint initiative, and financial support, of The Adriano Olivetti Foundation and The Ford Foundation. This agency has done much to promote and to subsidize the development of academic and other programs for the training of social scientists, as well as to conduct a number of documentation activities and other projects in the social and behavioral sciences.

Various governmental agencies, private institutes, and some individuals have received substantial support at different times from private American foundations such as The Ford Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and the Twentieth Century Fund, as well as from federal agencies which sponsor research in the social sciences.

Private Research Organizations

Much significant, and somewhat extensive, social research has been conducted by a few private organizations, some of which have been successful in obtaining funds and grants from Italian as well as American foundations. Chief among these is the Istituto di Studi e Ricerche "Carlo Cattaneo"

(Carlo Cattaneo Institute of Studies and Research) in Bologna which is supported by a private, non-profit Association (of the same name) of scholars in the various fields of the social sciences and the humanities. This Association, established in 1955 and re-organized in 1965, sponsors the publishing firm of Il Mulino, which publishes one of the principal sociological journals, Rassenga Italiana di Sociologia and the socio-political periodical, Il Mulino. Utilizing an interdisciplinary team-approach, this Institute for the past several years has been conducting a number of research projects in sociology and in other related fields. Presently, the principal foci have been placed on the study of political and religious behavior, and on a number of problems in the sociology of education. The Institute has extensive and well-organized facilities, including an extensive library in the field of social and political sciences, and receives more than 700 periodicals in various languages. This collection contains one of the most extensive documentations on the development of the social sciences in Italy.

The Olivetti Research Center at Ivrea (Turin) conducts extensive research in industrial sociology, particularly on problems relating to large-scale manufacturing corporations. Significant research on mass communications, including experimental work on social problems of visual information, has been a major undertaking of the Agostino Gemelli Institute for the Experimental Study of the Social Problems of Visual Information (ISSPSIV) in Milan which also publishes the periodical, IKON. Other private agencies in this category which deserve mention are CIRD, the Centro Italiano di Ricerche e Documentazione (Italian Center for Research and Documentation) and the Istituto Luigi Sturzo in Rome, Centro Studi "Nord e Sud" in Naples which publishes the periodical of the same name,

the Istituto di Scienze Sociali (Institute of Social Sciences) in Genoa, and the Centro Studi Sociali e Amministrativi (Center for Social and Administrative Studies) in Bologna.

University Institutes

Research institutes have been established at several universities. Among them are the following: Bologna, Catania, Florence, Naples (Portici), Padua, Pavia, Pro Deo in Rome, Rome (2), Sacred Heart in Milan, Trento, and Turin (2). While highly interesting and timely research is being done in some of these institutes, it consists by and large of small-scale, individual studies; and, on the whole, the quantity and quality of work that emanates from them are most uneven. These shortcomings again reflect the lack of adequate facilities, personnel, and other resources.

Some of these institutes have begun to concentrate on the socio-economic problems, and other socio-cultural questions, peculiar to their own locale and region, such as those in the South and on the Islands where socio-economic development has been a major government project, with remarkable progress, during the past twenty-five years. This question comprises the kind of problems which have concerned the Section of Rural Sociology in the Research Center for the South in the Faculty of Agriculture of the University of Naples, located at Portici. A less well-known, but equally noteworthy, exemplary undertaking is the research which has been in progress in recent years in the Institute of Sociology at the University of Bologna. There, under the direction of Professor Achille Ardigo', has been assembled an extensive collection of demographic and other socio-economic data on the region of Emilia-Romagna. Given the uniqueness of each of the regions of Italy, not only historically and

culturally, but more particularly in terms of socio-economic dimensions, one might hope that the other university institutes will follow this precedent to conduct sociological investigations, in various dimensions, within their respective regions. So far, with the exception of the South, not much has been done by way of regional analyses, especially in those regions where research institutes are non-existent.

Regional Institutes

The following institutes, established for the economic planning and development of their respective regions, have sponsored and/or conducted social research on various questions of sociological relevance:

1) Centro Regionale per il Piano di Sviluppo Economico dell'Umbria (Regional Center for the Economic Development of Umbria), Perugia, 1961.
2) IERES (Institute for Social and Economic Research in the Emilia-Romagna Region), Bologna, 1966.
3) ILRES (Institute for Social and Economic Research in Liguria), Genoa, 1963.
4) ILSES (Institute for Social and Economic Development in Lombardy), Milano, 1960.
5) IRES ("Aldo Valente" Institute for Socio-Economic Research), Turin, 1958.
6) IRSEV (Regional Institute for the Social and Economic Development of the Veneto region), Venice, 1962.
7) ISSEM (Institute for the Study of the Development of the Marches Region), Ancona, 1963.
8) ITRES (Institute for Social and Economic Research in Tuscany), Florence, 1962.
9) SVIMEZ (Association for the Development of Industry in the South), Rome, 1953.

Agencies for Applied Research

Among other agencies conducting social research, principally of an applied and specialized nature, that has sociological relevance are the following:

1) CRIS (Center for Industrial and Social Research), Turin.
2) CENSIS (Study Center for Social Investments), Rome.
3) FORMEZ (Institute for Training in the South), Naples.
4) ISAP (Institute for Public Administration Sciences), Milan.
5) ISSCAL (Social Service Institute for Workers' Housing), Rome.
6) ISES (Institute for Social Development), Rome.
7) ISLE (Institute for Documentation and Legislative Studies), Rome.
8) ISVET (Institute for Economic Development and Technological Progress), Rome.
9) Centro di Studi Operai (Center for Labor Studies), Genoa.
10) Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e di Difesa Sociale (National Center of Social Prevention and Defense), Milan.
11) Societa' Umanitaria (Humanitarian Society), Milan.

Particular mention should be made of the Istituto Centrale di Statistica, the government agency of socio-economic statistics, which provides excellent statistical and demographical studies of invaluable assistance in social research.

Public Opinion Polling

One extensive area of related research activity is that of public opinion polling. There are now a number of agencies in this area, and much use is made of them for scientific as well as commercial research projects.

Principally known in this category is the DOXA Istituto per le Ricerche Statistiche e l'Analisi dell'Opinione Pubblica (DOXA Institute for Statistical Research and the Analysis of Public Opinion), the Italian representative of the International Association of Studies of Public Opinion, which has been in operation in Milan since 1947. Other major agencies conducting polls and surveys are the following: Centro Italiano di Studi e Ricerche (CISER) (Italian Center of Studies and Research) and Istituto Italiano di Opinione Pubblica (Italian Institute of Public Opinion) in Rome; and MISURA and DEMOSKOPEA in Milan.

Unfortunately, for the most part, Italian sociological research has consisted primarily of sociographic studies of social phenomena. Such descriptive, atheoretical presentations, while highly useful in providing fundamental data, make no contribution as such to the development of substantive sociological theory. Hopefully, this situation will be improved in the years immediately ahead. The unicity of the Italian socio-cultural system offers a number of incomparable research situations--for example, a democratic political system that embraces more than a half-dozen different, even antithetical ideologies--which, if successfully explored, perhaps could provide the discipline with some missing pieces to its jigsaw puzzles.

PUBLICATIONS

Paralleling the rapidly expanding academic and public interest in sociology--and, undoubtedly, accounting for much of it--is the phenomenal increase in Italian publishing activity during the past twenty years. In terms of per capita distribution and consumption, few countries, if any, perhaps exceed the publication efforts of Italy in the field of sociology.

Journals

While Italy yet has to see again the likes of the internationally renowned Rivista Italiana di Sociologia--published from 1897 to 1921--Italian sociology is fortunate to have for its current record a relatively large number of journals. It appears that Italy can boast of having more journals in the field than any other country, with the exception of the United States; and for a country that has a relatively small number of professional sociologists, Italy surpasses even the United States on a per capita basis. In the many fields of social science collectively one could find close to 150 Italian publications.

Some of these journals are published by individual professors as one-man operations and/or under the auspices of university institutes. Others are published by private research institutes, and still others by private publishing houses. More often than not, the system of outside referees is not employed; and for many journals, being independently edited and published, inclusion of "outside" material is frequently only by invitation of the founder-publisher-editor. Hence the quality of the material in some of these publications often leaves much to be desired, and generally reveals an editorial slant. Despite these shortcomings, some of the Italian journals, for the most part, offer very solidly sociological material, while others are mixed heavily with non-sociological material--even by any non-Italian standards--such as works in economics, philosophy, history, and most especially political science. This kind of operation partially accounts for the relatively disproportionate amount of Italian publications in sociology, as well as in other fields of social science.

The following are among the principal journals currently published in the strict field of sociology and receiving wide circulation and attention.

Nearly all are published quarterly; dates indicate year in which publication commenced:

1) La Critica Sociologica (Rome, 1966)
2) Quaderni di Sociologia (Turin, 1952)
3) Quaderni di Sociologia dell'Educazione (1961)
4) Quantity and Quality (Bologna, 1968; published in English)
5) Rassenga Italiana di Sociologia (Bologna, 1960)
6) Rivista di Sociologia (Rome, 1963)
7) Societa' Rurale (Bologna, 1964)
8) Sociologia (Rome, 1956-1961, 1967)
9) Sociologia Religiosa (Milan, 1958)
10) Sociologia Rurale (Padua, 1957)
11) Studi di Sociologia (Milan, 1963)

A few post-World War II journals, while no longer published, contain material of value on various sociological questions. These titles, and their dates of publications, deserve mention for the prospective researcher:

1) Annali di Sociologia (1964-68)
2) Bollettino delle Ricerche Sociali (1961-65)
3) Notizario di Sociologia (1958-59)
4) Quaderni di Sociologia Rurale (1961-63)

There are a number of periodicals, concerned more broadly with social and economic issues and problems of the times, that are of sociological interest. Among the principal publications in this category are the following:

1) Comunicazione di Massa (Roma, 1963)
2) Comunita' (Milan, 1947)

3) De Homine (Rome, 1962)

4) Il Mulino (Bologna, 1951)

5) Il Politico (Pavia, 1953)

6) IKON (Milan, 1950)

7) Nord e Sud (Napoli, 1954)

8) Tecnica e Organizzazione (Milan, 1949)

9) Tempi Moderni (Roma, 1958)

10) Quaderni di Scienze Sociali (Genoa, 1962)

11) Studi di Emigrazione (Rome, 1964)

Monographs and Textbooks

Scientific and/or academic publications in a country the size of Italy, and in a language that has a scanty foreign market, are a risky financial undertaking. Sales of one to two thousand copies for a volume in its initial year of publication constitute a big success for Italian publications of a technical or specialized nature. That publications in the field of sociology, under these circumstances, have been developed so extensively is a singular indication of their popular demand and public interest in the field.

Two Italian publishing firms deserve to be singled out for pioneering efforts in the interests of sociology. These are Societa' Editrice Il Mulino[22] in Bologna and Edizioni di Comunita' in Turin. In the early fifties, when it was a marginal venture from a commercial standpoint, these houses devoted their attention--nearly exclusively--to the publication of works in sociology and in the other social sciences. Their contributions, which have met with much success, in no small way deserve much of the credit for the re-development of sociology in Italy, and the prestige and popularity

which the field has among the general, as well as the more limited academic, public.

In more recent years, faced with challenging competition and a less uncertain market, nearly all of the major Italian publishing houses have placed their colophon on some sociological titles--including even old-line firms, such as Laterza of Bari, which for quite some time remained steadfast to Crocian pedagogy as the philosophical guideline for its publications.

Among the other houses that have shown particularly active interest in the publication of sociological works are the following: Armando (Rome), Bompiani (Milan), Einaudi (Turin), ESI (Naples), Etas/Kompass (Milan), Feltrinelli (Milan), Giuffre' (Milan), Hoepli (Milan), Il Saggiatore (Milan), La Scuola (Brescia), Marsilio (Padua), Sansoni (Florence), Taylor (Turin),[23] and UTET (Turin). Several of these publishers have introduced particular series, such as classics or texts, in the field of sociology.

Readily available now in the Italian language are a great number of classical sociological writings, particularly those translated from the original English, French, and German editions. Additionally, there is available an extensive list of foreign contemporary works--references, texts, and monographs--that have been well received in the field, and the majority of these translated works are of American authorship. Similarly, the greater amount of text material which is available in Italy consists of translations made of American works. One current example would be the Prentice-Hall paperback series in the "Foundations of Modern Sociology" which is being produced by Il Mulino.

Italian sociologists have been exceedingly prolific, as we have indicated, but their publications tend to be predominantly monographic rather than textual. Nonetheless, compared to the situation about fifteen years

ago, when there were available not more than about a dozen--principally introductory--textbooks written by Italian sociologists, there now is available a greater, and slowly increasing, number of them. The majority of these volumes, however, have little resemblance in content and structure to their American counterparts. Conceptual and comprehensive approaches, for example, so common to the structure of American introductory texts, are nearly totally lacking in Italian sociology; Italian texts tend to be highly monographic in style.

University presses, as such, do not exist in Italy. However, university istituti, under the auspices of the sponsoring ordinario, frequently publish a number of monographs, research reports, and seminar and symposia proceedings on various sociological topics. A few of these university institutes are responsible also for the publication of a sociological journal.

Bibliographies

Italian sociology is fortunate to have available excellent bibliographical inventories of its published material. The first bibliographic record for modern Italian sociology was compiled by Barbano (1954) and consisted of publications which appeared since the end of World War II. His classification scheme--comprised of 12 general categories and 45 specialized ones--was based upon that developed by Durkheim for his L'Annee' Sociologique. The same classification plan, with the addition of a few major categories, was utilized in an updated, and more complete, version of the post-War bibliography of Italian sociology (Barbano and Viterbi, 1959) which was prepared for the Fourth World Congress of Sociology in 1959. The extent of sociological activity during this thirteen-year period is reflected proudly in the more than 1600 entries in this bibliography. Subsequent editions by

the same authors appeared in 1961 (Barbano) and in 1970 (Viterbi). Additionally, since 1957, annual bibliographical reviews of Italian sociological literature have been published in the Bibliografia Italiana delle Scienze Sociali edited by the National Research Council and published by the Societa' Editrice Vita e Pensiero in Milan.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

There is no such thing as an Italian professional association in the field of sociology.[24] The relatively small number of practitioners in the discipline, at least up to very recent times, partly accounts for this situation. There is probably not more than one hundred sociologists in all of Italy today. Slightly more than one-half of these may be categorized as university faculty (ordinari or liberi docenti), and an equal number is comprised of assistenti and other people who either are self-classified as sociologists or engage in some form of sociological activity.

Nearly all Italian sociologists, however, are members of the Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociali (Italian Association of Social Sciences)[25] which was organized in Bologna in 1957, and whose membership includes scholars from a number of other social and behavioral disciplines. Italian sociologists share much of the leadership and responsibility for the direction of this organization, which has been responsible for the sponsorship of a number of major meetings in Italy on sociological topics and others of related interest during the past fifteen years of its existence. Similarly, the AISS has made significant contributions to international meetings and congresses in the various social sciences. Of singular importance in this respect is that the AISS played a major role in the organization and presentation of the Fourth World Congress of Sociology which was held in

Stresa-Milan in 1959. Italian sociologists, in effect, were the host of this prestigious meeting of world scholars in the discipline, and this honor itself is an enviable recognition of the prestige and promise in which Italian sociology has come to be held. Since that time, Italian sociologists have continued to play a principal role in successive world congresses and in the leadership of the International Sociological Association. The secretariat of the ISA has been located in Milan for the past few years, and is presently under the direction of Guido Martinotti. Nearly all Italian sociologists are members of the ISA, and a good number of them also hold "foreign associate" membership in the American Sociological Association.

Another international organization, somewhat less known than the ISA, but of Italian sponsorship and administration is the Institut Internazionale de Sociologie (International Institute of Sociology) which, while founded in Paris in 1893, is based now in Rome. The Italian section of this organization, which in 1937 was transformed into the now-defunct Societa' Italiana di Sociologia (Italian Sociological Society), was established in 1932 by the Italian demographer Corrado Gini, who became the vice-president and principal figure of the IIS. Thereafter, the Institut became predominantly Italian, and is presently under the direction of Gini's professorial successor, Vittorio Castellano. Although the organization has a small membership, principally due to the fact that it tends to promote a neo-biological brand of sociology with a heavy demographic orientation, it publishes--in French and English--the Revue Internazionale de Sociologie as its official journal. The publication of this journal now is under the combined auspices of the Scuola di Perfezionamento in Sociologia e Ricerca Sociale of the Faculty of Statistical, Demographic, and Actuarial Sciences at the University of Rome (see above), the International Association for the Advancement of Ethnology and Eugenics, and the Italian Commission for the Study of Population Problems. The IIS

holds irregular congresses in Italy, the last being in Rome in 1969, and occasionally schedules a "regional" meeting during the annual conventions of the American Sociological Association.

One finds occasional references to an Italian Society of Rural Sociology (Societa' Italiana di Sociologia Rurale), but there are only three liberi docenti in this field. Nonetheless, the organization since 1964 has published the journal, Societa' Rurale, previously entitled Quaderni di Sociologia Rurale.

A number of seminars, symposia, congresses, and other kinds of meetings are held frequently under the auspices of various institutes--private or university--or upon the personal initiative of individuals fortunate to obtain financial sponsorship. These meetings often carry the words "world meeting" or "international meeting" in their titles. Although without stable organization and continuity, gatherings of this type serve functions similar to those of professional meetings, such as are sponsored by the national and regional associations of the ASA in the United States. Particular mention in this regard should be given to the Istituto Luigi Sturzo in Rome, and the Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e di Difesa Sociale in Milan, which have organized and sponsored some of the more significant meetings on sociological, and other social, questions of major import in Italy today.

ITALIAN CONCEPTIONS OF SOCIOLOGY

"What is sociology?" and "What is sociological?" are questions that for Italy can be answered only in the unique contexts of its intellectual history and culture. Italian scholarship, much in the European tradition, has been inclined toward grandiose philosophical and theoretical systems.

Yet, there is no such thing as an Italian sociology, if by such a label would be intended a monolithic, or even somewhat less homogeneous, yet distinctive, brand of sociology. Nonetheless, the diversity of orientations, principally emanating from the various academic origins that characterized Italian sociology in its early resurgence, are giving way, slowly, to a more homogeneous, but by no means monolithic conception of sociology. Perhaps it would be safe to say though that there are a few dimensions that modally characterize Italian sociology today. First of all, Italian sociology may be described as being considerably macro-theoretically oriented. These macro-theoretical orientations derive from a number of factors, chief among which would be the traditionally humanistic perspective of European scholarship. For Italian sociology, more particularly, its unique origin through the philosophical struggle with Idealism, and its re-development through the initiative and fostering of philosophers and other humanists, account substantially for the macro-theoretical perspectives that have marked its resurgence. Only in the most recent years has the value, and especially the need, of specialized and empirical analysis begun to be fully understood and appreciated. Yet, not the least of all the contributing factors for these perspectives, however, has been the absence of opportunities and facilities for fieldwork and empirical research, and--except in very recent years--sufficient acquaintance with that research methodology proper to micro-sociological analysis.

There is a substantial difference--and refreshingly so--between the early, arm-chair, humanistic brand of sociologists, and the young turks of today--especially those who have received advanced training abroad within the past decade. This difference is manifested particularly in terms

of knowledge of the field--both in terms of breadth and depth--as well as, and more especially, in terms of training in modern research methodology. Unlike the earlier generation of post-War Italian sociologists who came from various academic backgrounds, lacked knowledge of social science methodology, and pursued sociology usually in a political, philosophical, or historical perspective, and with little empirical foundation, today's younger generation of sociologists are more homogeneous in their academic backgrounds, and particularly in terms of professional training. Much better prepared in modern research methodology, the younger generation is more empirically and more theoretically oriented in its practice of sociology, and is much more involved in micro-sociological research activity. The earlier generation of sociologists by and large are "general practitioners" of the profession despite an occasional concern with specific questions, and perhaps a small-scale undertaking in research. Much of the interest, and work, in Italian sociology, however, is slowly becoming more and more specialized in terms of sub-fields in the discipline--as can be evidenced particularly in the larger institutes and university centers, such as those in Rome, Milan, Turin, and Trento. These new developments within the field, while decidely emanating from the younger generation, are by no means without criticism nor their share of non-conformists from within the same camp of scholars. There are those who lament the lack of breadth which specialization through micro-sociological interests and research is alleged to be bringing to Italian sociology. (Of course, much of this micro-orientation derives from the need to confront pressing socio-economic problems within the Italian society.)

However welcome specialized interests may or may not be, the more disturbing aspect of current Italian efforts in this kind of sociological

work is the gross absence of theoretical perspectives and the lack of preoccupation with the development of theoretical explanation. As such, the bulk of empirical sociology in Italy today--and indeed there has been a considerable amount of it--suffers from being exclusively descriptive, and hence greatly free, if not completely so, of any significant or systematic concern with the development of sociological theory.

The "new" sociology--here intended to mean the socially activistic variety--has its share of Italian followers, although they tend to be drawn nearly exclusively from the younger sociologists, and much more especially from the ranks of students. Individuals in this category, much like their counterparts elsewhere, pursue pretty much the brand of sociology represented by C. Wright Mills and his followers. There is a good deal of rebellion on the part of these people, principally those of Marxist persuasion, who reject the empirical and scientific approaches to sociological questions in preference to humanistic perspectives which have been so traditional in Italian and European scholarship. Nevertheless, the present confrontation of these old and new "sociologies" permit ample opportunity for seemingly inexhaustible polemics which remain the hallmark of Italian scholarship in any field.

The dominant foreign interest of Italian sociology remains American, although more and more attention is being given to the work emanating from a number of European countries. American sociology is recognized as playing the dominant role in the world today, and particularly enthusiastic interest is evidenced in research methodology which is developed in the United States. Nonetheless, American sociology has been severely criticized, principally by the first post-War generation of Italian sociologists, for being too empirical and for placing too much stress on methods and techniques

of research at the expense of explanation, which means chiefly macro-theoretical explanation, and the failure to relate sociological thought to other disciplines by means of humanistic explanatory links. On the other hand, principally from the younger generation of Italian sociologists and students, American sociology, is criticized frequently for not being more activistically and more problem-oriented to the current social issues of its own and the world society. Yet, knowledge of American sociology, with the exception of those Italian scholars who have studied in the United States, is limited by and large to a few major figures of international or historical reputation, and their principal works--many of which have been translated into Italian--and, to a lesser extent, to the works of American scholars who have worked and published in Italy in recent years.

Much research has been done in Italy by American social scientists during the past twnety-five years. Sociologists in particular have found it fertile soil for a number of unique kinds of research. Very little of their findings, however, become available to Italians in their own language; and when they do, they frequently are severely and dogmatically criticized--particularly on the part of would-be sociologists and other people least qualified, by training and experience, to evaluate the scientific merits and scholarly significance of such works--usually for being produced by "outsiders" who allegedly lack sufficient knowledge and personal experience with the Italian society and culture to render a creditable performance. Similarly, one hears little in the United States of the work and contributions of Italian sociologists. Despite a very intensive activity on the part of Italian sociologists, and a number of significant contributions to the discipline, Italian sociologists themselves would agree that their ranks

presently are not distinguished by a recognized pre-eminent scholar of world reputation. Yet, Italian sociologists--particularly those formally trained in the discipline, are indeed a very young lot. The profession cannot be too demanding of them at such an early stage in their resurgence. To be sure, there are many original thinkers among today's Italian sociologists, and several of them enjoy respectable reputations within their own country, and throughout the rest of the continent to some extent, for significant contributions in particular sub-fields of the discipline.

One indication of the principal figures in Italian sociology today would be those sociologists who have been awarded one of the available cattedre in the state university system, of which there are presently nine such chairs. The current ordinari of these positions are the following: Sabino S. Acquaviva (Padua), Achille Ardigo' (Bologna), Filippo Barbano (Turin), Luciano Cavalli (Florence), Luigi D'Amato (Genoa), Franco Ferrarotti (Roma), Franco Leonardi (Catania), Agostino Palazzo (Pisa), and Alessandro Pizzorno (Urbino). These individuals are considered to be among the most influential scholars in the field, and certainly are among the best known in terms of achievements in and contributions to sociology. The second eschelon of principal figures in Italian sociology would be comprised of the other liberi docenti--often confined to this category only for the lack of (vacant) cattedre--who in some cases have contributed as significantly and as meritoriously to the development of sociology in Italy as have their more recognized colleagues among the ordinari.

Italian interests in, and contributions to, sociology are rather diversified. An analysis of Italian bibliographies will show that Italian sociologists have been involved in a number of sub-fields of sociology;

but, there are a few areas which have received only token, if any attention. Strangely, little work has been done in such traditional and focal areas as social stratification, social disorganization, social deviance, criminology, delinquency, medical sociology, social change, small groups, socialization, demography, methodology,[26] and the sociology of law and religion--not to mention the relatively new, and somewhat esoteric, areas with which American sociologists are becoming increasingly familiar.

Areas of principal concentration in Italian sociology are the following: macro-theory, conceptual sociology, history of sociology, rural-urban sociology and the sociology of knowledge, economics, politics, industry, religion, education, and communications.[27] A few of the younger sociologists have brought some of the domain of social psychology into various areas of the discipline under the rubric of micro-sociology.[28] The scope of the discipline, however, is under constant expansion. One of the best singular references for the current status and conceptions of Italian sociology may be found in Questioni di Sociologia, edited by Francesco Alberoni and published in two volumes (La Scuola Editrice, Brescia) in 1966 along the lines of Sociology Today (Merton, et al., 1959). These volumes contain original articles on the various field of major interest to Italian sociologists, written by most of the principal figures in the discipline.

Italian sociology, as with nearly all other things in Italy, can be expected in many ways to remain uniquely all'italiana. And, whether sociology is humanistic or scientific, macro- or micro-, empirical or otherwise--and even which of these it should be--are merely, in the true sense of the term, academic questions for Italians. For it is said, with ample justification, that Italian physicists are the most philosophical the

world over. Should it be any more surprising that Italian sociologists are equally inclined?

CONCLUSION

Italian sociology during the past twenty-five years has emerged decidely into one of the strongest positions among the countries of Europe. Much of the hope for its future, however, hinges upon the long-discussed, and long-delayed, reform of the Italian university. One suggestion for structural re-organization envisions the creation of academic departments for various disciplines, now scattered throughout multiple divisions of the university. Such a proposal would consolidate needlessly duplicated, and costly, programs, facilities, libraries, and research institutes, as currently exist in several universities under the present system. Some success along these lines has been achieved already with the incorporation of the Magistero' (School of Education) into the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy. Yet, current and expected achievements, along with the development of the proposed dottorato, will be most futile unless adequate employment opportunities can be created for sociologists throughout the Italian society.

Unfortunately, professional competence in sociology is currently premature by and large for anything other than academic careers; yet, even positions of this kind are hard to come by, and teaching posts in the field on the pre-university levels are virtually non-existent at the present time. Underemployment, especially at levels of professional training, continues to be a major problem in Italy. Reportedly, only a very small percentage--less than ten percent--of graduates (150 to 200 annually) from Trento and the post-graduate programs are successful in finding employment commensurate with their professional training and interests.

Italian scholars, cognizant of these problems, undoubtedly will respond responsibly and admirably to these and other challenges of the future. The continued assistance of the world profession, as always, is welcomed; and those of us who are fortunate to have some modest measure of participation in the exciting development of Italian sociology will find it a unique and richly rewarding experience.

It is our hope that the mosiac of Italian sociology which has been put together here reflects with sufficient objectivity--as much as can be expected from an admittedly American perspective--the success and prospects of sociology in Italy today, and that it does justice to the remarkable and enthusiastic efforts of our Italian colleagues during the past quarter of a century.

FOOTNOTES

*Much of the fieldwork for this article was undertaken while the author served as Senior Fulbright-Hays Professor of Sociology at the University of Rome in 1968-69. He wishes to acknowledge with appreciation the research funds made available for this work by the American Commission for Cultural Exchange with Italy.

1. Historical treatments of sociology in Italy may be found in Michels, 1930; Panunzio, 1945; Crawford, 1948; Pellizzi, 1956; DiCarlo, 1957; and Ferrarotti, 1957.

2. Other disciplines also were devastated by the "dictatorship of Idealism," especially psychology and cultural anthropology. The former fared a bit better because of its association with the faculties of medicine, but cultural anthropology exists as a field of study in the Italian university system only since 1962, and there are presently only two professorial practitioners in this discipline, neither of whom holds a cattedra. See Tentori (1966) for more details on the development and current status of cultural anthropology in Italy.

3. Criminology is another branch of the discipline that managed to survive, primarily because--although less true nowadays--Italian criminologists were fundamentally biological in theoretical perspective and continued along the path laid out by Lombroso. Yet, even today, criminology in Italy is not usually acknowledged to be within the legitimate scope of sociology, and has little relationship to it, either in content or academic organization.

4. See Moss (1960) for a descriptive account of the research contributions of American sociologists in Italy during this period.

5. Considerable research has been done in the neighboring areas of psychology and cultural anthropology, which are even less developed than sociology. Among other things, their particular problem is that they are neither fish nor fowl: cultural anthropology is not accepted by the anthropologists (primarily physical anthropologists), and psychology exists only in the faculties of medicine. Neither parental discipline, with an exception or two in psychology, has been interested in extending family status to its respective offspring.

6. The slow pace of university reform has been the basis of perennial protests, demonstrations, and strikes on the part of students and faculty alike. (See Mancini, 1968).

7. See Science 166(1969):587, and Reviews of National Science Policy: Italy, Washington: OECD Publications Center, 1969.

8. One example of the power and authority of the ordinario can be had in the demise of one school of social work (Scuola Superiore di Servizio Sociale) at the University of Rome a few years ago. This school was established, and conducted, under the auspices of the Istituto di Psicologia (Institute of Psychology) which is a sub-division of the Faculty of Medicine. The School no longer exists because, as reported to the author, the supporting ordinario decided independently--although perhaps for meritorious reasons--to discontinue the particular program. It is the prerogative of the ordinario, in the exercise of absolute authority within his "baronial domain," to make a unilateral decree

for the elimination of a given program just as much as it is for the establishment of one.

9. For example, in 1961, one newly-established cattedra in sociology was awarded to a political scientist, whose training, publications, professional activities, and interests were clearly in the area of politics. Some years later, upon the creation of a new cattedra in political science, the ordinario in question opted for a justifiable transfer--in effect, only a legitimate change of title.

10. The libero docente is a status comparable to that of the privatdozent in Germany and the agrege' in France.

11. To Ferrarotti is owed much of the credit for the new presence of sociology in Italy. As the only native Italian with American training, he played a principal role, often single-handedly, in the professional development and popularization of sociology in post-War Italy.

12. Eight of these are only in special areas, such as rural, urban, and educational sociology.

13. There is only one degree program, which confers the title of dottore, in the Italian university system.

14. There are now 24 state universities and 8 university-level, higher institutes (istituti superiori) in various fields. Additionally there are 7 private, non-state supported universities, such as the well-known Catholic University of the Sacred Heart and the Luigi Bocconi University of Economics and Commerce in Milan, the University "Pro Deo" in Rome, and universities in Urbino, Chieti, Aquila, and Lecce, as well as

other *istituti superiori* which have been granted accreditation by the Ministry of Public Instruction.

15. There are, as one might suspect, strange anomalies at work in a system such as this--and not all of them can be understood simply within academic terms or such a context. For example, the *ordinario* at the University of Rome, whose chair is in the *Magistero'* (School of Education)--which two years ago was merged into the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy--offers only an elective course (*materia complementare*) to about 2000 students (registrations not attendance) yearly, while in the Faculty of Statistical, Demographic, and Actuarial Sciences, where the sociology course is required (*materia fondamentale*), it is taught by an *incaricato*, actually the *ordinario* in statistics, to only a few hundred students. If this one example sounds somewhat complicated and confusing, hopefully it provides an insight into the chaotic bureaucracy of Italian academe.

16. This school emerged partly for political reasons, and partly for cultural ones. Among the latter was the isolation of the Alto-Adige region on the cultural frontiers of Italy--a region strongly influenced by Austrian history and culture--with in fact its own languages (Ladin and German), and a region granted special concessions of self-government because of its cultural and historical differences from the rest of Italy. As for political motives, the local officials wanted to develop an educational institution at one level or another that would unite the various valleys of the region. Several suggestions, including a technical institute at the secondary level and a *Magistero'* (School of Education) were offered, but a school of social sciences--in recognition

of the need and popular sentiment of the times--emerged as the victorious plan.

17. The Greg allegedly has not sought state accreditation, since such recognition would require the incorporation in its program of a number of non-sociological and unrelated courses, such as is the case at Trento, and this would aggravate its financial burdens.

18. An exceedingly rare phenomenon in Italian state universities where the student-faculty ratio on the national average is 200:1.

19. Acronyms for the designation of agencies and organizations are used officially and quite extensively in Italy.

20. Reviews of National Science Policy: Italy. Washington: OECD Publications Center, 1969.

21. Italian philanthropy--as indeed funds for "research" in general--seems to be more congenial with congresses, symposia, and other such meetings, that attract a great number of people, particularly major figures in the respective field as well as in government. Much like court life, where appearance (la bella figura) was important and necessary, an immediate, practical, demonstration of money well spent seems to be the preferred benefaction and "research" project.

22. Il Mulino is the publisher also of one of the principal journals in the field, Rassenga Italiana di Sociologia.

23. This house has published Quaderni di Sociologia, the first post-War journal, since its inception in 1952.

24. A sociological society was founded in Rome in 1910, but managed to survive for only a few years to about 1913. Its first president was R. Garofalo.

25. The AISS does not publish a journal nor have any other official publication. An article of interest on the origin and organizational structure of this association may be found in Tentori (1961:73-80).

26. The area of mathematical sociology has been introduced in recent years, almost single-handedly by a young sociologist, Vittorio Capecchi, who--with an academic background in mathematics--has emulated the work and career of Paul Lazarsfeld, some of whose publications he is responsible for introducing in translation into Italian sociology. Capecchi, a few years ago, developed a journal in the area of mathematical sociology, Quantity and Quality, which--given the limited Italian market--is published in English.

27. Descriptive and evaluative annotations on the principal contributions to these fields may be found in a forthcoming publication by Gallino and Saccomani (1971) under the auspices of COSPOS.

28. We cannot here go into the particular problems of social psychology in Italy. Many of these are in direct parallel to those of sociology, although there are a number of particular factors. On the whole, social psychology has fared much less well than sociology in all respects. Readers interested in the status of social psychology since the end of World War II can find adequate treatments in Neri (1961) and Meschieri (1967). Bibliographies for this field can be found in Pincelli (1961) and Meschieri (1967).

REFERENCES

Alberoni, Francesco (ed.)

1966 Questioni di Sociologia. Brescia: La Scuola Editrice.

Barbano, Filippo

1954 "La Sociologia in Italia, Oggi." Il Politico, 2:1-40.

Barbano, Filippo and Mario Viterbi

1959 Bibliografia della Sociologia Italiana, 1948-58, Torino: Ramella.

1961 "Bibliografia della Sociologia Italiana," Bollettino delle Ricerche Sociali, 1:314-357.

Crawford, W. Rex

1948 "Representative Italian Contributions to Sociology," in Harold E. Barnes (ed.), An Introduction to the History of Sociology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

DiCarlo, Eugenio

1957 "La Sociologia in Italia della Seconda Meta' dello Scorso Secolo ad Oggi," Sociologia, 2:337-347.

Evangelisti, Giovanni

1961 "La Sociologia nell'Universita' Italiana," Bollettino delle Ricerche Sociali, 1:296-307.

Ferrarotti, Franco

1957 "Sociology in Italy: Problems and Prospects," in Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff (eds.), Modern Sociological Theory in Continuity and Change. New York: The Dryden Press.

Gallino, Luciano and Edda Salvadori Saccomani

1971 "Report on the Situation of Sociological Studies in Italy Over the Past Twenty Years." University of Turin (mimeographed).

Mancini, Federico

1968 "The Italian Student Movement," Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors, 54:427-432.

Merton, Robert K., et al. (eds.)

1959 Sociology Today. New York: Basic Books.

Meschieri, Luigi

1967 "Bozza di Relazione sulla Psicologia Sociale in Italia," (mimeographed).

Michels, Robert

1930 "The Status of Sociology in Italy," Social Forces, 9:20-39.

Moss, Leonard W.

1960 "Ricerche Socio-Culturali di Studiosi Americani," Bollettino delle Ricerche Sociali, 1:502-17.

1964 "Sociology in Italy Today," Cesare Barbieri Courier (Hartford-Trinity College), 6:21-24.

Neri, Paolo

1961 "La Psicologia Sociali nell'Universita' Italiana," Bollettino delle Ricerche Sociali, 1:62-68.

Panunzio, Constantine

1945 "Italian Sociology," in Georges Gurvitch and W. E. Moore (eds.) Twentieth Century Sociology. New York: Philosophical Library.

Pellizzi, Camillo

1956 "Gli Studi Sociologici in Italia nel Nostro Secolo," Quaderni di Sociologia, Part I, 20:67-89; Part II, 20:123-141.

Pincelli, Giuliana

1961 "Bibliografia della Psicologia Sociali, 1948-1960," Bollettino delle Ricerche Sociali, 1:81-96.

Rapport, V. A., S. C. Cappannari, and L. W. Moss

1957 "Sociology in Italy," American Sociological Review, 22:441-447.

Rose, Arnold M.

1958 "Sociology in Italy, as Viewed by an American," International Social Science Bulletin, 11:641-644.

Sturzo, Luigi

1943 The True Life: Sociology of the Supernatural, Washington: Catholic University Press.

Tentori, Tullio

1961 "L 'Associazione Italiana di Scienze Sociali," Bollettino delle Ricerche Sociali, 1:73-80.

1966 Antropologia Culturale, Roma: Editrice Studium.

Treves, Renato

1959 "Sociological Study and Research in Italy," Transactions of the Fourth World Congress of Sociology, London: International Sociological Association.

1960 "La Sociologia nelle Universita' Italiane," Quaderni di Sociologia, 24:173-180.

Viterbi, Mario

1970 Bibliografia della Sociologia Italiana, 1945-1970, Torino: Istituto di Scienze Politiche, Universita' di Torino.